

804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visiting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversation were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521●

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawifi of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. According to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawifi were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shaman-ship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was compatriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

804 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted.
294 For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was, and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

521 Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martín de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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Argentina

WHOLE VOL. ARAUCANIAN CHILD LIFE—HILGER

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Formalized conversation, probably the *koyaqtun*, was carried on when a woman's relatives, including her immediate family, came to visit her for the first time after her marriage (cf. pp. 331-332). 521

Informants, now old, were told stories connected with wars—usually those between Araucanians and Argentines—when they were children. An informant, when a young girl, was told the following by her mother:

An Araucanian girl had a child by an Argentine soldier, but another Argentine soldier wanted the girl. The girl tucked her child under her poncho and rode away with the one that was not the father of her child. After some time they were hungry, but they had nothing to eat. So the man stole a horse. They found a cave and lived in it. Here they cut large pieces of meat off the horse, but they broiled them in another cave, one close to a nearby lake. The cave was in such a position that people could not see the fire they made in it; they did not want to be discovered. The girl could have eaten the meat raw, but the man not—he was not an Araucanian. [539]

"My mother would cry when she would tell me such stories."

Certain legends were told to children, but children were usually listeners-in to those intended for adults. One legend told to children is the following:

Inca—some say Inca—sent word, saying, "Children, your God is captured. He must die unless sufficient gold and silver are collected to fill three rooms; do all you can to collect both, and send them to me." All the Araucanians gave whatever they could, their finest things in gold and silver. They collected all these in one place. It took a long time to do so. Then they looked for slaves to carry the load over the mountains. They were finally on their way. But a great difficulty had soon to be faced: they found snow in the mountains. Just when this difficulty seemed insurmountable, they met Araucanians from other mountains. These said, "Do not go any farther; Inca has died. And do not sell or give your gold and silver to the Whites." So they dug a large hole on the top of one of the mountains, pushed the gold and silver into it, and then onto these they pushed all the slaves. Next they pushed a big mountain over it all. No one now knows where the place is. So runs the legend, as told by some. Others say that the slaves with their loads of gold and silver were pushed down a smooth ledge of stone on the side of the mountain where it can still be seen resembling a slide. It ends in Lake Curruhue Chico. At the place where the ledge enters the lake, the water is very deep and is dark in appearance. The gold and silver, wherever they are, so says the legend, worked their way toward the surface of the earth, a hair's breadth each year, until the Whites came into the area. Since then the gold and silver have sunk deeper, but in all probability, when the Whites leave here, they will again move upward. [539]

Kolupan told a legend with a historical background as related to him by his father when he, Kolupan, was a child. In recent years Kolupan has told it to children in his neighborhood:

West of Hua Hum, there was formerly a lake in addition to Lake Pirchueico which is still there. About 300 years ago an earthquake split the earth wide [539]

● 521 open near there. A machi went into the opening and cut down something. While
539 she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it.
Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion [the imitated steam being
blown off]. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river
between Lake Lacar and Lake Pirehuenico. Just about that same time, the vol-
canoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes,
they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where
his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off
the mountains. Since then these rivers flow through Chile and no longer through
our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is
Shoshuenco. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Shoshuenco so that
today Shoshuenco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

517 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years
276 and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man
younger than 30 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his
father's presence; "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his
father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age.
Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children
to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they
had no material to smoke." Older men smoked ceremonially at the
pillatun; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of maqui and dead
wood of rauli, or a mixture of crushed leaves of both, was smoked.
Tobacco was introduced with government rations. Kolupan, finding
tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with maqui, cutting both up
fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood
of rauli to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days
a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade
from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had
been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only
at bedtime since it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was
called patrem; the word kinnickinnick was not known to informants;
Kolupan found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in
pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking
pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the
same material, and a hollowed-out colihue stalk inserted into the end
of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in
size and structure (pl. 76, 3). Those of caciques and old men were
often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they
sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-
made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to
person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 851 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 855 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as providing wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

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855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively
857 by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

[52] If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses [52] her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Shamanism and Sorcery

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which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in the *reñu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only *kalku* are able to enter the *reñu* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *reñu*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are concerned, many who live uxorilocally (even for obvious eco-

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Shamanism and Sorcery

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to

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TECKEL TO GEYLUM.

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

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After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Ouingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

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After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

TRUCKEL TO GEYLUM.

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